1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

173 labor and the cousin assisted with the birth. The child was a boy. His navel cord was bitten by an old man named Humu-ave, who was later killed by the Tupa-hotu.

619 The elder brother gave his wife to his younger brother so that he could have a child of his own. Nine months later a male child was born. The woman returned to Taka and she became pregnant by him. This child was also a male. Then she was again given to the younger brother and a second boy was born to him. The woman was again pregnant with the third child of Taka. Later a third child was born to Parapuna. Each brother had a fourth child by the same woman. The children grew up. The people of Hamea and Raa were exterminated by the Tupa-hotu, but the enemies had not succeeded in capturing Taka and Parapuna who became progenitors of the Hamea and Raa groups, the younger one of the descent group of Hamea. The people multiplied. There was no longer a war so they returned to their country, Peperenga, near the bay of Hangoteo.

Peperenga, the place where the two brothers settled, was not far from Puna Marengo, or Hangoteo Bay, where there is an ahu called Taka Parapuna, belonging to the Hamea and Raa groups. In Estella's list (79, p. 63) of the tribes of Easter Island, Raa is mentioned as the name of the "tribe of Hangoteo."

The above legend and facts do not agree with Routledge's map, based on native information, in which the Hamea are located in the exact region of Hangoteo, and the Raa are placed together with other Hamea groups east of Anakena. According to my sources of information, most of those groups were established near Hangoteo, at the northern end of the island.

Supposing the traditional land division to be accurate, there would remain 619 five groups (Haumoana, Ngatimo, Ngaure, Tupa-hotu, and Hitiuira) whose origin cannot be attributed with certainty to any known ancestor or to any ancestor whose name can be placed on a genealogical record. A logical supposition is that the curious absence of a definite district associated with the names of Hitiuira and Tupa-hotu indicates that these tribes have developed since the other groups to whom special territory was allotted. The greater importance of Marama in comparison with Ngatimo and Haumoana tends to indicate that the latter were originally subtribes of that important *mata*.

572 In speaking of the social organization of the past, the natives frequently use the word *tumu* which they do not entirely understand and cannot definitely 582 define. Routledge and Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) were both puzzled by the word. Routledge refers in her note to a "mysterious word *tumu*" which ● 571 she believed to mean only "neighbour". She says " . . . it was vaguely believed that originally one only married one's *tumu*; but no such restriction existed in known time." Williamson (228, vol. 2, p. 145) believes that *tumu* "might possibly mean a human group, represented primarily by its main trunk family, and having its common origin or head. In that case, however, we should expect that the *tumu* would represent the group of people into which a man might not marry." I obtained the following definitions of *tumu*: "*Tumu* is a group from which you may get a wife. The *tumu* is a friend,

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

but always of another group; he plants for you, he works for you. Every group has its *tumu*." The Hamea and the Raa were pointed out to me as being the *tumu* of the Miru. Victoria told me that the Miru was the *tumu* of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Marama, as they might intermarry; but later, in speaking of the subgroups or families of the Miru, she explained that the Tekena were the *tumu* of Ureokao (both subgroups of the Miru), because they intermarried.

A *tumu* may be defined, as Routledge surmised, as "a group of people into which a man may marry." However, I was told that there were also *tumu* with whom it was impossible to contract blood alliance "because they lived too near your house. When they lived as near as parents or friends, intermarriage was impossible even though they were *tumu*." From the definitions received, I deduce that *tumu* were people of one tribe who stood in a special relation to people of another. I cannot establish any relationship between the lineages in the different *mata*. It is not clear whether marriage was obligatory or only customary between the *tumu*. Marriage was forbidden to members of two *tumu* which were closely related by blood or perhaps by living together in the same family group. Routledge believed, as I do, that members of a group who settled in the territory of another were either related to the inhabitants by marriage or were captives. Such relationship would explain why my informants defined *tumu* as a group with which there existed marriage connections, or as a group obliged to work for another.

All of the present-day members of the Miru *mata* were pointed out to Routledge and me as being *ariki-paka* (noblemen) except the king of the island who was called the *ariki-mau* (principal *ariki*). It seems unlikely that every individual in such a large and powerful tribe should be considered an aristocrat even though belonging to the king's group. Probably the status of the ordinary members of the Miru was no different from that in other tribes, but some of the dignity and pride of the royal blood extended to the whole tribe, making it a little more aristocratic than the other tribes. Any member whose genealogy could be traced could claim direct relationship to the king's family.

In sum, the tribes (*mata*) of Easter Island seem to have been separate social groups made up of descendants of a common ancestor. They were thus, fictitiously perhaps, all related by tracing their origin to the king, Hotumatua.

There were no marriage restrictions among tribes, save those of the *tumu*. There is, however, a persistent tradition on the island that it is not proper for a man of another group to marry a Miru woman. Even now the natives believe that men who disregard that tradition are punished by physical disability. Tepano and Pakomio, who married Miru women, told me with great seriousness that by so doing they had exposed themselves to grave danger.